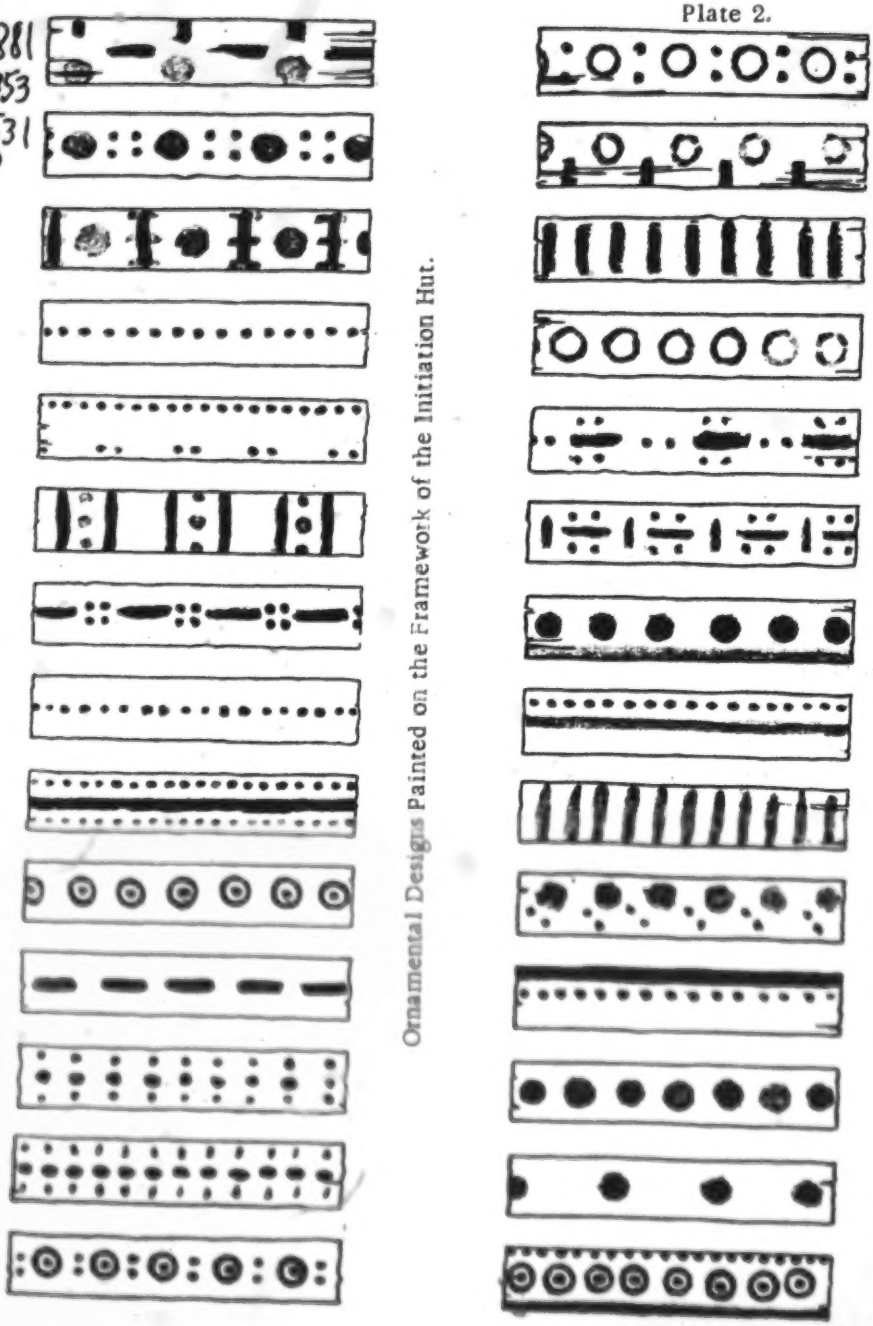
1: Gusinde--656 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

X 881 353 531

Plate 2.



Ornamental Designs Painted on the Framework of the Initiation Hut.

/835 cont./
X881 346 comfortable seating for many people and can be extended in length at will, so that all are safely under shelter.

X881 346 352 531 The Yamana, however, are not satisfied with this plain construction, but decorate it to a considerable extent on the inside. They are satisfied artistically with painting simple designs on wood. Formerly when they did not have the European iron ax, they scraped the bark off single small trunks with mussel shells and painted their designs directly on the exposed wood fibers. This is still done, but nowadays they more often make long, narrow little tablets with their ax, which are placed against the framework on the interior, are slightly curved at the bottom, and form an arch up to the highest center line. They are placed 40 to 60 centimeters apart and usually in such a way that two are opposite each other.

Finally, in the upper part of the framework they fasten short, small, painted tablets and sticks which hang down freely. The latter are 25 to 35 centimeters long, cylindrical, with a smooth surface and ends cut off straight. The thinner end points downward. The little tablets are always long and narrow, 20 to 45 centimeters long, seven to ten centimeters wide, and the corners are either rounded or sharp. In the latter case, the wider of the two narrow sides ends in a short, square little handle into which a small hole is bored or a flat notch is cut. The little tablets and sticks, yĕxalapáteg ikamanáki, are fastened by a tendon or reed stalk in the center of the vaulted framework where they hang down freely and lightly swing in the draft or the vibration of the framework (cf. the reproductions on Plates 2 and 3).

[386] If the Yamana wish to paint these ornamental plaques, as well as the small trunks and long, small tablets, they use the customary colors, black, white, and red, which they mix with seal blubber. They apply this mixture with their fingers, arranging dots and lines in varied patterns. The person painting them follows his artistic inspiration of the moment and his feeling for beauty; hence all kinds of combinations of lines, dots, and circles appear in manifold variety.

The Yamana repeatedly assured me that these ornamental objects had no particular meaning and served exclusively to beautify /836/ their cíĕxaus hut (256). They are left there after

256. Reproductions of these ornamental plaques

X 881 346 352 531

/836 cont./

and sticks with different patterns may be found in black and white in Koppers (a):48, and in color in Lothrop (b):126. In the latter reproductions, the background is too bright a yellow. It is not painted, but left in the natural color of the beech wood.

the ceremony is over (257), for such articles are not used in any

257. After my first initiation and later after my second, when I expressed the wish to take along a few of these ornamental objects, the Indians took down not only the long painted plaques and hanging sticks, but also removed the long thin pieces of wood and trunks out of the ground and gave them all to me without hesitation, further proof that they do not regard these things as having any value other than as decorations for the Great Hut during the initiation.

other way.

X 881 346 There is no partition anywhere inside the hut, and one can survey the whole without obstruction from one end to the other. Also, there is no particular allotment of areas and places to sit. The candidates with their sponsors squat between the other participants in an informal, relaxed arrangement. The adults, however, use the wider entrance, tumĕci, almost exclusively, whereas the úšwāala have contact with the outside world only by way of the narrower entrance, úšatumĕci (258). The two entrances are so

258. BD:113 gives " 'ussa, ' position in or up..., up at the inner end of the room" /cited in Englist/.

arranged that the wider one for the adults faces the camp while the other one is nearer the woods so that the candidates, unobserved by children and adults in the camp, can disappear into it. Each of the entrances is closed off with a large piece of leather (259)

[77]

259. Nowadays they often use sacking and

1: Gusinde--807 E-8 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

Plate 3.

293
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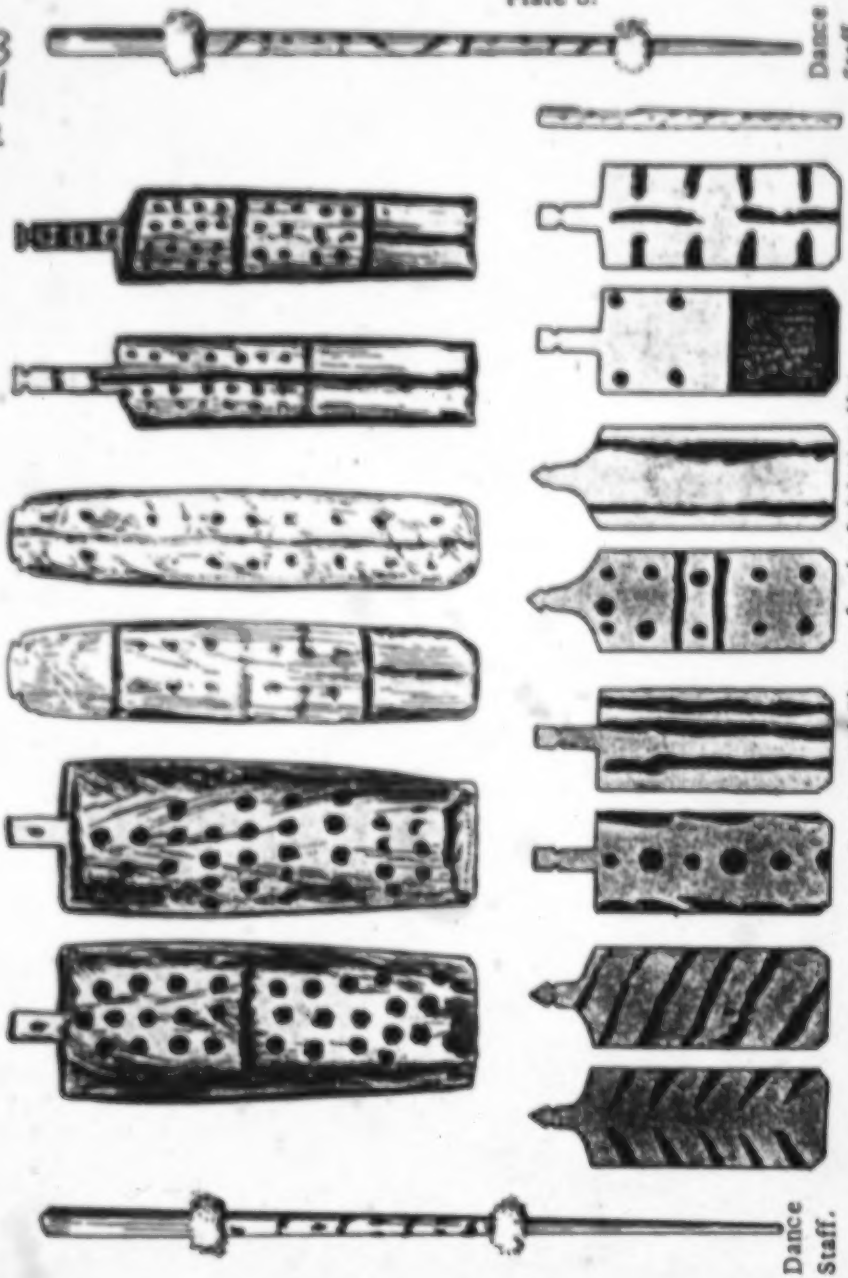
352



Dance Staff.

Ornamental Plaques for the Initiation Hut.

Dance Staff.

/1463 cont./

517 whale," /cited in English/, according to BD:630, or wáalina for a man who makes a good canoe. People who make a small basket or an ornament with particular care are known far and wide, and the accurate construction of such things is talked about by others because it gives them satisfaction and true enjoyment. One often hears expressions like the following: "What a pretty thing! -- How good-looking that is! -- The workmanship is very accurate and shapely!..." Everyone praises the effort made by an artisan. When they see a perfect specimen, old people encourage the young ones to imitate it. Any kind of praise is gratifying to the Yamana, and he makes an effort to obtain it. Beyond that, however, he also finds particular pleasure in the qualities of the beautiful object. A European, if he wants to be fair in his judgment, must take into consideration the difficulties that hamper the Yamana in the making and fashioning of his implements. For example, he does not have the use of metal tools and measuring instruments, but is dependent solely on his hardened, not very limber fingers and upon the measurements of his eye. For this reason, obviously, the various rows in a little basket (Fig. 101) or an ornament and the lines in a painting are never absolutely perfect. The indolence and the carelessness of persons who do not want to take pains and trouble are, of course, also reasons for many an inadequate piece of work.

531 The Yamana enhance the beauty of certain objects and their
302 own bodies by means of painting. They use the well-known ma-
322 terials (p. 90) for the three colors that are the only ones applied: lúi = red, scarlet; yágu = light, luminous, white; finally, lémbi = black. The pigments are either rubbed to a dry powder or first mixed with water or blubber in a large Mytilus shell (Fig. 102) to form a thick paste and then applied with the finger or with a painting stick (pp. 93 , 712 , 790). Designations for other tones of color are not altogether lacking, but are seldom used. For instance, one says lakíma, "gray," only for human hair and for fur, whereas the word pewaiágu is used for the gray, faded, and pale color of any other object. Light red or a reddish yellow is designated by pájami. There is no particular significance attached to any of these colors (p. 94) (364), although one or

364. Martius: 188 and Spegazzini (a):170

/1463 cont./

have maintained the contrary, without justification.

another is preferred on certain occasions, for example, in the case of /1464/ mourning (p.1064). Scarlet gives the Yamana intense pleasure (365); the color of the máku blossom serves as a

365. This has been confirmed a number of times. Hyades (b):1345 and (d):306 says: "The favorite color is red; the other colors are often confused" /translated from French/. I also agree with the last part of his statement. The designations that he (q):205 lists for all kinds of colon are worthless.

standard of comparison for them (p.494). The Yamana use the well-known pigments to paint their faces or their entire bodies on various occasions. The gay and rich variety of their designs very clearly expresses their by no means limited sense of beauty. This is even more definitely shown in their ornaments and in the patterns of color with which they cover various objects, such as the Kina masks and the ornamental staffs used in the čiéyaw hut (Plates 2, 3, 4). /Fig. 102 appears here./ The Yamana have a considerable number of special designations for the various types of painting. The word wíyeteka means "to paint horizontal lines upon the face with ímí as a mark of friendship" /cited in English/, according to ED:610; the word íjasina means "to paint the face with up and down bands or lines of either red or black" /cited in English/. The painting is sometimes supplemented with a feather decoration. I observed neither a special gift nor an inclination to draw among the Yamana (366); I never saw children scratch simple

366. Differing on this point, Phillips (a):1011 reported: "It was strange that the Fuegians showed a great inclination to draw. Without being told, they collected strips of paper and drew caricatures on them with charcoal, which were supposed to represent their comrades. They were then given pencils, and they eagerly

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 3315 Yahgan 3315

517 A great deal of *Yahgan* recreation was incidental to the initiation and other rites and through the feasting and social activities that accompanied set events such as marriages, or chance meetings of families at camps, or larger gatherings of longer duration occasioned by treasure trove in the shape of stranded whale. In connection with some of even the more solemn rites there were intervals of free play releasing tensions developed during the more serious phases of the rites.

496 Narcotics were totally lacking. No alcoholic or other intoxicating
[493] beverages were made or used by the *Yahgan* before their contact with the Whites. Nor was tobacco grown or in any form used.

531 Art.—There was no form of sculpture or of carving in wood. The only designs, if they can be called such, were the lines, dots, and circles used in face and body painting and in the ornamentation of lodges and paraphernalia in connection with the major rites (fig. 14). There was a certain crude artistry in bodily decorations and in the personal adornments referred to elsewhere in the present paper.

All in all, there are few if any peoples in the world that possessed a more rudimentary esthetic development than the *Yahgan* and their neighbors, the *Alacaluf* and *Ona*.

526 Games and sports.—There was no gambling, no games with elaborate rules, no team games unless group wrestling could be called such, and no competitive games except wrestling.

524 Boys practiced with the spear, bow and arrow, and sling, and at
857 some throwing, but this was as much vocational as recreative activity. There were certain quite simple children's play activities, such as swinging, rolling down hillocks, endurance hopping on one foot, and group play such as tomalére, in which boys and girls crouched in a line one behind the other, sang together a melody in which the meaningless word "tomalére" was repeated, and slowly danced rocking back and forth in imitation of a canoe making its way forward
[533] through the waves. Songs sung on one long meaningless word were common accompaniments of children's group play.

[497] All the women could swim; the men could not. Recreative swimming was rarely indulged in.

524 Adults' games, in some of which the children could participate, were equally simple. Such were: blindman's-buff, hopping and singing at the same time, throwing small burning sticks in the air, standing in a circle through which "it" in the middle tried to break. The ball
526 game was popular: A ball made of seal gut stuffed with feathers or grass was kept in the air by the players with strokes from the palm of the hand. Men and women might play the ball game together.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 5265 Tahgan 5265

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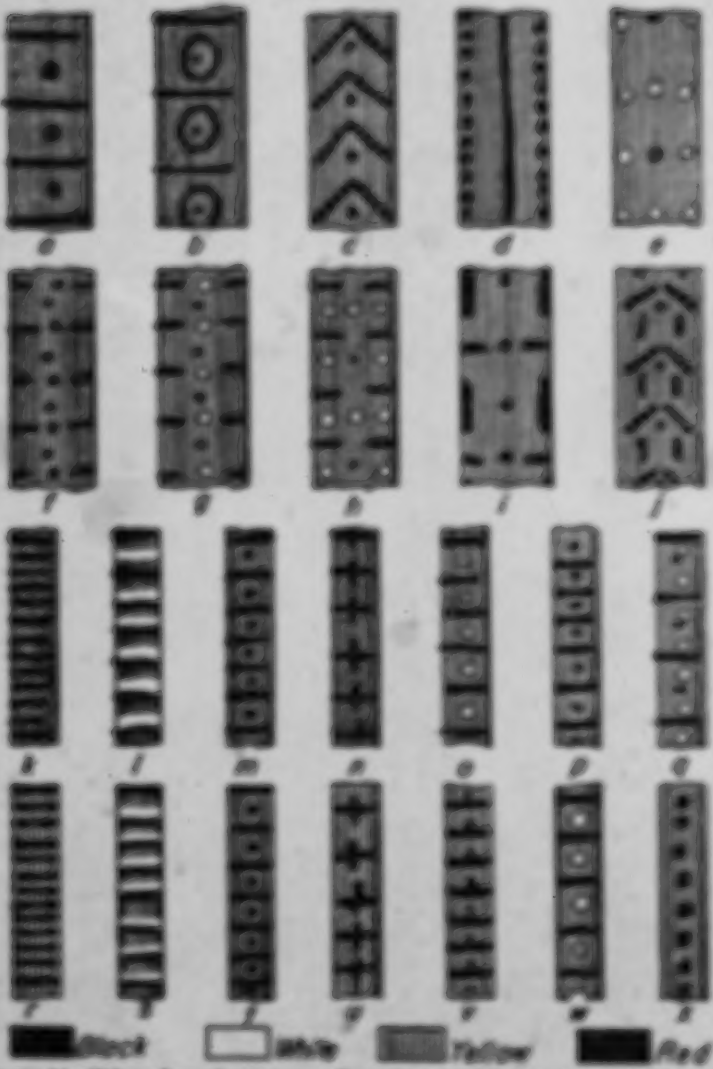

PLATE 11.—Tahgan basketry patterns. From the painted frame of a ceremonial tahgan. (Redrawn from Culin, 1898, pl. 6.)

5265 Wrestling was indulged in a good deal, mostly by the men, although the women would sometimes intervene in the group wrestling. In pair wrestling, a man challenged an opponent by putting a small ball at his feet. The onlookers formed a circle around the contestants and applauded vigorously. The aim was to put the opponent on his back.

3: Lothrop E-9 (1924-1925) 1928
3305 Yahgan 3305

381 a small hole near the lip of the shell. Through these holes a braided sinew cord was run, doubled back on itself, and lashed with spiral wrappings of sinew. This method of stringing is illustrated in fig. 30. The shells thus united are always graded according to size, sometimes with the biggest shell at one end and the smallest at the other, sometimes with the big shells in the middle and the small ones at either end.

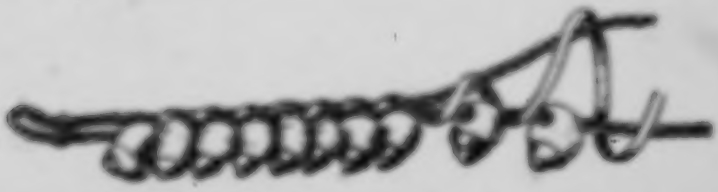

FIG. 30.—Detail of Yahgan shell necklace. Length of shells, one-half in. (34/2109)

USE OF PAINT

386 Like the Ona, the Yahgan made regular use of a red paint (*lmi*) obtained by burning earth, a black paint (*wepénkak*) made of charcoal, and a white paint (*tawwépe*) of clay. According to Fitzroy (p. 177) and Dabbene (1907, p. 58) these colors have symbolic significance. Thus, white was the sign of war or ceremonial display, black was the mark of grief and mourning, while red denoted peace and happiness. With their paints the Indians adorned their persons, their dance masks, their ceremonial lodges, and some of their tools and utensils. The latter were often embellished with solid color, but body, dance masks, and ceremonial lodges were made the field for painted designs.

531

In pl. 12 is shown a selection of patterns taken from the frame of a ceremonial lodge. No simpler motives of artistic significance can be achieved, for these designs are mere smudges of color applied with thumb or finger. The elements are a dot, a short line, and, in one instance, a circle. Two lines are combined to form a cross, a T, and a chevron. Design units repeat themselves in simple rhythm.

Dance masks are illustrated in figs. 92 and 93. Their designs, though of symbolic significance, are again abysmally primitive. Facial painting may be studied in the photographs published by Klippart (1934); they are similar to the patterns here described.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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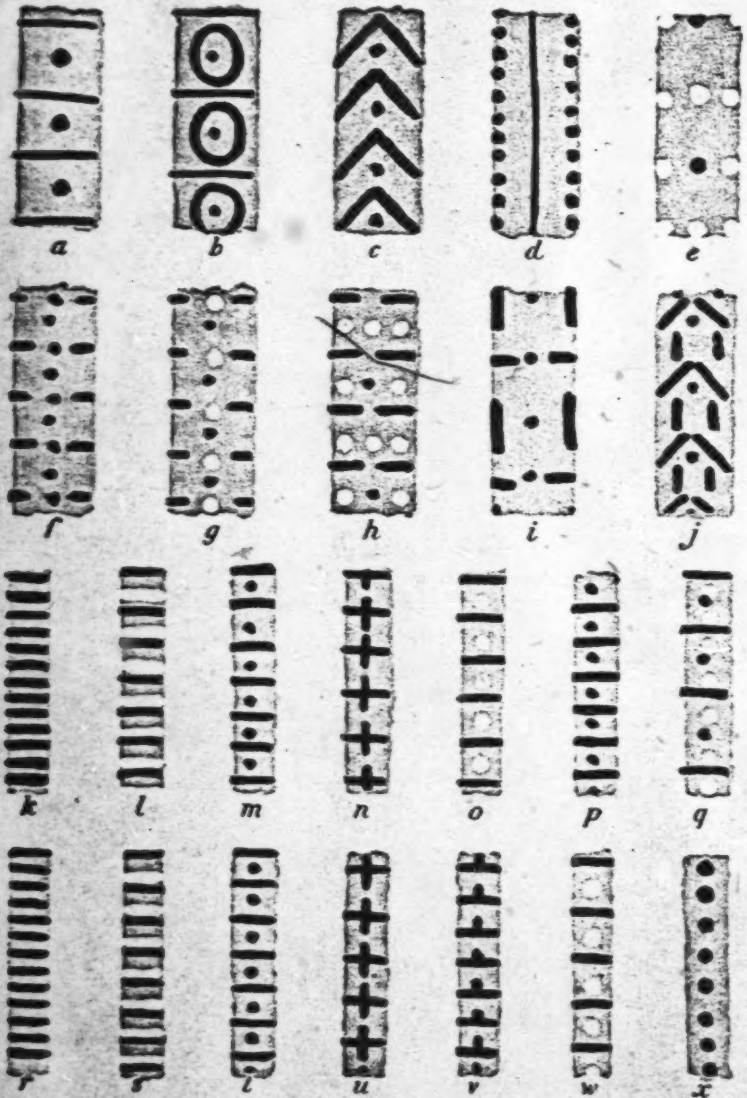

YAHGAN PAINTED DECORATION

[p 126-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

346 352 531 To beautify the initiation lodge, the flat inner surface of the split saplings constituting the framework was painted with red, white, and black paint. Broad boards, inserted at regular intervals in the frame, as may be seen in the upper view in pl. XIV, received similar decoration. The nature of the embellishment is shown in pl. IX, a series of designs copied from the lodge we have described. When a ceremony was in progress the hut was further adorned with small painted tablets hung from the roof, while an additional touch of color came from painted wands (fig. 91) which often were wedged in the frame of the house when not in use.

FIG. 91.—Yahgan painted ceremonial wands. Length of *b*, 24 in. (14/2227½)

343 Two hundred feet or so from the initiation lodge a second and smaller hut was erected to serve as a cook-house where meals for the candidates and officials were prepared.

292 293 The paraphernalia used during the ceremony we illustrate in pl. XV and figs. 90 and 91. It consists of heron-plume headbands (*hapawára*) worn by the officials, kelp-goose down headbands (*pagal*) worn by the others present, a narrow hide headband painted white (*hehel*) worn by the initiate during part of the ceremony, a small stick also painted white (*w'matámia*) used for scratching, and variously painted wands (*tumoistáka*). The scratching-stick is assigned to all the Yahgan by Koppers (1925), but I was told that it was used only by the easterners. The wands were held in the hand during the singing and dancing, and were swung in time with the music. When not in use they were thrust upright in the ground or stuck in the frame of the lodge. If one fell on the ground it was considered an evil omen. I was told that these wands were not in use among the easterners. The men in charge of the ceremony kept at hand a seal-hide thong like that pictured in fig. 76, but adorned with closely spaced red dots; it was used to tie up any candidate who became unruly.